class designed Tune Out week alternatives posters to have in their classrooms as references. Parents were asked to support their children in finding alternative activities and to promote healthier lifestyle choices.

Tune Out Week: Children were asked to keep time diaries which will be used in the evaluation of how well their actions correlate with their intended plans. Both parents and children were asked to take part in the challenge of Tune out week, the evaluation of the project as whole and the process of altering any sections of the program.

For full results visit our website at www.sfu.ca/media-lab/risk

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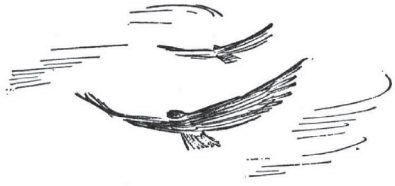
NOTE: A complete list of works cited in this document, but not included here, is available from the editor; e-mail grahama@sfu.ca



Twisting the Cross: Terrorism and the Shaping of American Society

—Michael Fellman

- A religious fanatic named John Brown rides into Harper's Ferry, seizes the national armory, thrusts the issue of race incontrovertibly into the American debate, and makes the Civil War inevitable.
- William T. Sherman burns his way through the South, using his troops to spread fear among Confederate civilians. Lives are spared but property is not. The deterioration of morale on the homefront destroys that of the troops more effectively than any cannon.
- In collusion with local and state authorities, a paramilitary army of ex Confederate white supremacists uses burning crosses and hangmen's ropes to terrify freed slaves, and the white South rises from the shambles created by war to establish the apartheid system that Reconstruction was supposed to prevent.
- During a labor rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square an unknown person throws a bomb at the police, killing one and injuring others. The cops open fire, killing uncounted strikers and several of their own force. After a trial in which no evidence is produced linking them to the bomb thrower, seven anarchist leaders are sentenced to death for their political opinions.
- At the turn of the twentieth century, American troops torture and slaughter Filipino nationalists and bully whole towns as the U.S. picks up the white man's burden and openly colonizes a foreign country for the first time.

What do these five significant chapters of nineteenth-century American history have in common? Terror. For it is an unremarked yet salient fact of America's development as a nation that what truly reordered American society yesterday, yet threatens that order today, is nothing other than terrorism. Historians are used to crediting trends like industrialization and the practical application of ideas like liberty with the coalescence of American nationhood. But it was terror that did even more to shape the nineteenth century, and it was those hundred years in which America was truly made.

Terrorism is a more complicated, more expansive tool than we currently credit. We simplify it at our peril. To both utilize it and oppose it, we must understand it. And there is no better place to start than with our own past.

We know that terror involves not only the use of threats and violence to intimidate, coerce and selectively destroy civilian populations for political purposes—it is also the state of fear, submission or flight such tactics produce. But what we need to accept is that while together these two processes can certainly destroy societies, they can make and shape them as well. It is certainly true that the doctrine of universal human rights, enacted both in ethics and in law, is the ideal norm of democratic governance; yet we only have to look back over our shoulder to see that terrorism has frequently been embraced as an

alternative means both to maintain and to change the social order. It is the veritable double-edged sword, commonly utilized by the state as well as by those in opposition to it, in the United States as elsewhere. Similarly, so has "counter-terror " been the response of power-holders and the state to anticipated and assumed threats as well as to actual acts of terror.

Nineteenth-century America shows us that terrorism is not the aberration, and peace the norm. Rather, it reveals that terror can be undeniably effective in accelerating and shaping social change. Moreover, it is not the exclusive province of crazy antisocial forces. Terrorism is often an extension of mainstream values and goals by violent means: it is a political tool that can liberate, and a political tool that can repress. After all, in the United States, a nation presumptively based on a creed of liberty, equality of opportunity, and due process before the law, terror has often been used to curtail or eliminate what the majority (and especially the powerful) has perceived as challenges to basic norms by other classes, races or political ideologies. In a nation based equally on civil Protestantism and Republicanism, those employing terror have almost invariably justified themselves by combining universalistic liberal beliefs with Christian ethical standards, twisting both together to serve violent means meant to secure, in their view, higher ends.

I do not think anyone can argue with the notion that terrorism has been a major transformative force in American history, in essence helping to make Americans who they are. When Europeans came to their New World, aboriginal peoples opposed and fought them, with both sides engaging in protracted terrorist campaigns to eliminate the other. At the dawn of American national history, the darker side of the Revolutionary War was a terrorist campaign against Tories; in turn, British and Tory forces frequently employed terror strikes against the revolutionaries. Only after the conquest of the Tories through terrorist means, not merely the defeat of the British army, could the Constitutional Fathers sit down in peace and sort out a binding and effective legal framework for their new nation.

But the nineteenth century is the best period to see the ways in which American terrorism consolidated both society and state. Other historians have clearly delineated what helped make them what they are today—the spread of liberty, industrial growth, and the rise of the business class—all nineteenth-century phenomena. I believe that terrorism was just as important. The continued existence of the United States as a nation, the racial order in that nation after slavery was destroyed, the relationship of labor to capital and the state, and the role of America abroad all were defined in the second half of the nineteenth century in ways that transformed a weak and disunited set of states into an increasingly consolidated world power. It was terrorism and counter-terrorism that lay at the root of this national establishment: terrorism made acceptable by the ways in which it appealed to traditional, mainstream beliefs, and terrorism that created pathways to change in our society.

Terrorism is often an extension of mainstream values and goals by violent means: it is a political tool that can liberate, and a political tool that can repress. After all, in the United States, a nation presumptively based on a creed of liberty, equality of opportunity, and due process before the law, terror has often been used to curtail or eliminate what the majority (and especially the powerful) has perceived as challenges to basic norms by other classes, races or political ideologies.

Start with the 1850s, and there is a clear trail of terror that shaped many of the most pivotal events of that time. Could a nation claiming a heritage of freedom and justice for all continue to exist half slave and half free? Abraham Lincoln urgently asked that question in 1858, as did most of his fellow citizens North and South. Abolitionists in the North and fire-eaters in the South had long fanned the flames of sectional division with their angry words and symbolic attacks. Threats of slave insurrection, and in the case of Nat Turner in 1831, an actual rebellion in which slaves killed some eighty-five whites (there was a reprisal hanging of some four hundred African-Americans), had always underlined white anxiety about the implicit threat of their black labor force. And one could argue that slavery always had been based on systematic terrorizing of the slaves.

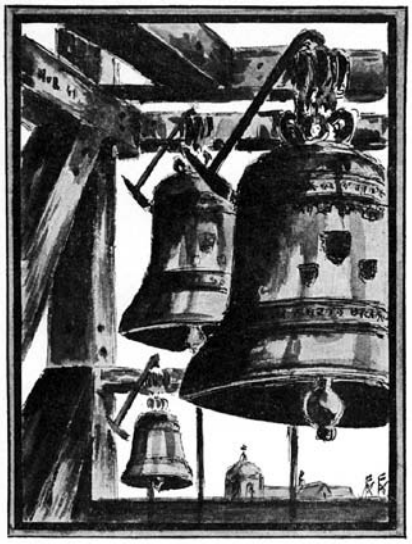
But it was John Brown's *act*, his raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, 1859, that polarized the nation through terrorist means.

John Brown, the most dramatic and effective terrorist in American history, was a man who, by attacking human slavery through direct action, changed his society in fundamental ways that most Americans now find positive. Brown's brand of libertarian Evangelical Christianity—his startling and violent anarchist application of the dominant religious and civil values of his day—was as much a fighting faith as modern fundamentalist Islam. Back on May 23, 1856, at Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas Territory, he led seven men, including four of his sons, in bludgeoning five proslavery settlers to death with broadswords. Three years later, at Harper's Ferry, he seized a federal arsenal, expecting hundreds of slaves to join him spontaneously in igniting a

massive and bloody slave rebellion that would destroy the hated system. No revolution materialized, and within a day, Brown's men were surrounded, killed or captured by federal troops. But the impact of the raid had only begun: Brown's *words* were in the end even more important than his acts, although his credibility was based on what he had done and had intended to do. At his trial, Brown played to both the idealism of northern Evangelical Christians—a far broader public than the abolitionists themselves—and the deepest fears of slaveholding southerners—the threat of a massive slave insurrection. At his trial and while awaiting his hanging, he anticipated the enormity of the impact of his deed, successfully seeking by his words to stretch the sectional divide to the breaking point. In particular, he understood the powerful symbolism of reenacting a Christlike death in the name of the brotherhood of man. As he stood before the judge who would sentence him to hang, Brown spoke to the nation: "Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice and mingle my blood further with the blood…of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments—I submit; so let it be done!" It was as if a new Isaiah or Jeremiah had emerged in the Promised Land to scourge the nation of evil.

This direct physical and moral attack on slavery helped convince southerners to secede and northerners to fight that secession. Indeed, when the Republicans were elected a few months later, the Deep South seceded in large part because, as one prominent politician put it, Lincoln would "John Brownize us all." And soon enough, Union soldiers would march into the Confederacy singing, "John Brown's body lies a mouldering in its grave, but his truth goes marching on."

Was Brown a terrorist or a "freedom fighter?" He was an ideological and



religious zealot, a "borderline personality," an undeniable believer in the higher value of violent means, righteously applied. He was not a foreigner but very much a native-born American, twisting American Protestantism and republicanism to the service of a Jesus militant. Any analysis of him inevitably opens up troubling questions about the American character and the building of the American nation, since it requires looking at terrorism from within and not just from without mainstream values.

Then there is William T. Sherman. In *Citizen Sherman*, I discussed at considerable length his Civil War raid into Georgia and the Carolinas, and his accompanying, brilliant, war propaganda. But I would also like to align his actions with deeper American patterns in the use of military terror, many of them developed in the American military tradition of fighting Indian irregular wars, a second long-term mode of controlling another race through terror, parallel to the treatment of black slaves. As well as destroying the logistical base of much of the Confederate military effort, Sherman sought to undermine civilian morale, the foundation of the Confederate citizen army. At this he was successful through word as well as deed. He showed restraint in terms of inflicting civilian casualties, but he attacked every other element of civilian property and life. And he calculated his damage coolly, even while he—a spiritual agnostic—used heated Protestant biblical language in shrewd psychological fashion, coupled with physical terror, to debase and destroy the fundamental security of his enemy in ways they and his northern brethren would also comprehend. While it is true that Sherman's army did not slaughter civilians, it drove thousands from their homes, often to exposure and death by hunger and disease, and always to depression.

Although Sherman—a virulent racist and social reactionary—was at the opposite end of the political spectrum from John Brown, when he broadcast his message of war to the southern people that accompanied his giant raid he too employed the language of the King James Bible, humiliating his enemy as he trampled them. "You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will," he wrote to the mayor of Atlanta, who was protesting Sherman's expulsion of the civilian population of that city. "War is cruelty and you cannot refine it, and those who brought war into our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out…You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop the war, which alone can be done by admitting that it began in error and is perpetuated in pride."

What Sherman could not foresee was the use of some of his tactics by southern white nationalists when they struggled to regain control of their region. After losing their war for an independent nation, these nationalists regrouped and regained power in their states through legitimate political activity closely linked to the use of widespread paramilitary terrorism. Night riding, threats, banishment, beatings and lynching were frequently the first resorts of the clandestine branch of this political movement, particularly in the Deep South where the black population was

especially numerous. Klansmen used extremist forms of traditional Christian imagery, most notably the burning cross, as they sought to purge their notional white republic of all hints of the social pollution they believed assertive black people threatened to bring with them should they gain significant political power and social independence. This campaigning was coordinated with more genteel forms of political activity by other white leaders, in conscious if not always explicit collusion with the terrorists.

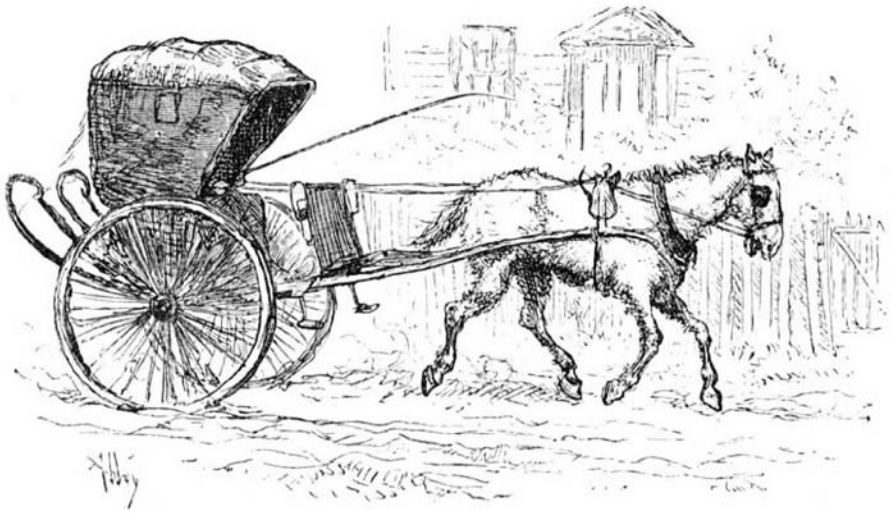
In 1871–72, the federal government was able to break the Klan in several states. But it soon wearied of perpetual use of the army and the federal courts to enforce Reconstruction. Far from disappearing, white terrorists regrouped during the next three years, using even more massive terrorist means that proved both indispensable and effective in securing the southern white triumph essentially completed by 1877. The subsequent, decades-long formalization of segregation was continually reinforced by terror. In general, white terror was a purification ritual carried out in the name of a white man's country—of which the Klan was one of several organized devices. There were to be about 5000 recorded lynchings in the late nineteenth century South—in the end five to ten times that number were probably lynched—and systematic race discrimination including violence lasted nearly a century, with lynching but the most overt form of terror. Terror was at least as much psychological as material for both attackers and attacked, providing a force that blacks could not counter.

One of the reasons that southern whites could impose such a draconian caste system on blacks is that northerners, including the Republicans, had grown deeply concerned with immigration and labor unrest in their midst. Both caused considerable strife in the 1870s and beyond. Distracted, the Republicans abandoned the southern lower orders to the "natural leaders" of that region, focusing their anxieties on the growing dangers within urban industrial society. In 1877, a national railroad strike turned violent, and both the National Guard and federal troops were called out to put down the workers.

Unionization, socialism and anarchism grew among the workers, many of them recent immigrants, threatening a sort of class war most Americans deeply feared as an insidious, foreign invasion of unassimilable peoples and un-American ideologies.

These anxieties climaxed in Chicago in 1886. On May 3, the police fired on strikers at McCormick's Reaper Plant, killing at least six and probably more strikers. In reaction, the small (and mostly German) anarchist movement of Chicago called for a meeting at Haymarket Square for the following day, their leaflet urging, "Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force." When that meeting was held, a phalanx of police appeared, and someone in the crowd threw a bomb. The police opened fire and eight policemen were killed, mostly by the "friendly fire" of their own colleagues. A larger number of workers also died. Eight anarchist leaders were arrested and tried for murder. Though almost all had convincing alibis, they were convicted and sentenced to be hanged after instructions from the judge to the jury that the anarchists may not have had any actual "personal participation in the particular act," but "had generally by speech and print advised large classes to commit murder," leaving the actual acts to the whim of some unknown individual who listened to their advice.

This judicial violation of the most basic civil rights was part of a widespread assault on workers and the union movement, much of it coming from the pulpit. In a widely reprinted sermon, "Christianity and the Red Flag," Rev. Frederick A. Noble of Chicago's Union Park Congregational Church took Isaiah 59 as his text. "Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; desolation and destruction are in their paths." This, declared Noble, "is an ancient description of an anarchist… They have said, with a fiendish tone that blood must be spilled; blood has been spilled; let their own veins and arteries furnish the further supply." Charles Carroll Bonney, a leader of the Chicago bar, linked religious standards to civil standards in another pamphlet: "the state does not deal with religion or infidelity, as matters of belief or doubts, but only as they are concerned with morals and conduct, and so concern the peace and good order of society. If anarchy can have possession of the



workman on Sunday, it can laugh at the efforts of law and order to control him during the week."

This first great Red Scare stemmed from an anonymous act of terror by an anarchist or an *agent provocateur*, which led in response to a far larger act of counter-terror. The police, the courts and the churches whipped up popular sentiment, all defining labor organizations and strikes as alien, undemocratic and unchristian. State counter-terror served to purge the threatening alien other, as power holders imagined him to be, as a means to try to regain their notion of law and order. Although a protest movement developed in resistance to the post-Haymarket hangings, reprisals against striking workers remained violent for decades to come, as those in governmental and social power continued to consider them to be essentially anti-American.

When the United States finally entered the international imperialist era in 1898 by beating up on the Spanish and seizing most of their remaining empire, one unintended consequence was the necessity of fighting a Filipino terrorist campaign with counter-terrorist methods. At first the Filipino nationalists believed the Americans had arrived to help liberate them from the Spanish; but when they learned of the American determination to colonize their land, they took to the bush, using guerrilla warfare, the only sort of military option available to badly outgunned forces in such colonialist wars. It was in fact a strategy used and perfected by the American rebels in their own War of Independence. The Filipinos used stealthy attacks against American soldiers and terror against their own civilians, while the Americans used terror in parallel fashions, as both sides fought to control the countryside. Though the usual statistic is that the American army inflicted 10,000 to 20,000 deaths, this might be undercounting, but even more importantly, the Americans pulverized the material and psychological structures of the Philippines as a potential nation. The American State could present this use of force as a normal deployment of state police power, justifying a variety of terrorist means as legitimate suppression of outlawry. And governmental leaders believed that they had a moral obligation to bring Christianity and modernity with them in order to uplift the ignorant lower race of Filipinos, a mission that justified the use of terror.

> Placed in an acceptable framework (and of course never called that by name), terror is often useful in furthering social and political ends, in the United States as elsewhere. Terror is widespread; terror is common. But if we ever hope to abandon its uses, having experienced the full force of its savagery, we must begin to challenge its acceptability, even when legitimated as a means to preserve society

Until this point, Americans had avoided what were to them European forms of imperialism by conquest and colonization. And even in 1898, President William McKinley hesitated about moving in that direction. He later told a group of clergymen, that after the defeat of the Spanish fleet, "I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then the other islands…. I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance…and one night it came to me…(1) That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government…and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize* them, and by God's grace do the very best we could."

Of course, this moralistic policy accorded with American material and geopolitical interests: the Philippines would provide a big naval base in the Pacific, to help protect and expand American trade. But McKinley was neither a cynic nor a hypocrite. Quite to the contrary, his motivations were as much those of mission as of markets, and if his army would use water torture and massacres as later Senate hearings demonstrated had been the case, American idealism nevertheless was congruent with terrorist means, if the outcome supported high American purpose. The ends justified the means.

Clearly this pattern is echoed repeatedly in twentieth and twenty-first century events. The KKK was reborn in 1915 as a self-proclaimed white Protestant army, enacting terror against Catholics and Jews as well as African-Americans. During and after the Red Scare of 1919, dissent was suppressed, often with violent means, in defense of what was then called "100% Americanism." Thousands of radical activist immigrants were deported (while an overtly racist immigration policy barred more from entering the nation), and World War I veterans organized to terrorize industrial unions, particularly the anarchist Industrial Workers of the World. In 1927, the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were electrocuted, ostensibly for payroll robbery and murder, but really for their political opinions and ethnic origins. In the 1930s, the police and private security forces battled strikers, often using terrorist methods. Following the Second World War, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, the

House Un-American Activities Committee, McCarthyism, and the execution of the Rosenbergs terrorized once more those alien, Communist, filthy dissenters into silence. Using the same shibboleths, the KKK and other white terrorist groups, often with the support of local and state officials in the South, opposed the Civil Rights movement with burnings, bombings and other forms of terror. In Vietnam, American forces often terrorized and sometimes massacred villagers in a pattern eerily reminiscent of the earlier Philippine campaigns. And the response to alien terrorists after 9/11, including the stereotyping of persons of color at the borders as all potential terrorists, resembles the response of Chicago authorities to the Haymarket anarchists in 1886.

It is too soon to determine where the new homeland security legislation and the doctrine of pre-emptive war might lead. But with normal civil rights suspended for whole categories of people, the state is twisting the use of police powers with new tools of secret coercion, and, sensing potential terrorist attacks, initiating war to head them off.

* * *

Twisting the Cross throws open a new window on American views of race, class, mainstream values and the state by analyzing the role of terror in shaping American history. I believe this innovative discussion will provide a provocative look back at the past with clear implications for the present and the future. Some might call what I do here counter-patriotic, but in a time where fear may cloud the public perspective, I believe it is essential to look at the deep structures of American history in a well-researched and clear-eyed manner, the better to understand terror at the root of nation building.

I am not new to the analysis of violence and American life. In my previous four books I addressed many of the connections between violence and the moral structure at the core of American society, chiefly by exploring the lives of civilians, soldiers and military leaders caught in the middle of the American Civil War. Warfare destroyed their security and fundamentally challenged their value structures. Yet they were able to rework those structures in ways that kept them sufficiently integrated personally and socially to carry on both in war and the ensuing peace. Despite their psychic wounds, they learned to integrate their violence with received values, to attack the alien Others while defending the True People of God, including, of course, themselves. Through such ideological constructions, they justified terror as a means necessary to serve higher American ideals, thereby defending themselves against the viciousness of the means they sometimes used.

The crucial lesson of *Twisting the Cross* is that American terror and counter-terror, while pushing humans to the very limits of the morally comprehensible, are under the right circumstances, for most of us, a defense of peacetime social values. Placed in an acceptable framework (and of course never called that by name), terror is often useful in furthering social and political ends, in the United States as elsewhere. Terror is widespread; terror is common. But if we ever hope to abandon its uses, having experienced the full force of its savagery, we must begin to challenge its acceptability, even when legitimated as a means to preserve society; we must look to peaceful alternative means of social change in multicultural, judicial and international frameworks. If there is anything I hope Americans learn from this book, it is that terror can come from "them," and it can come from "us."

To write this book, I will analyze a variety of printed archival and primary sources, including stories and novels, photographs and paintings in order to tease out the relationship of terror and mainstream values. I am neither a theorist nor an ideologue, so I intend to write a clear narrative braided with analysis of the moral and structural meanings of homegrown terrorism. This project grows from my earlier work on moral structure, violence and war in nineteenth-century America, but at the same time it is a new and challenging topic, one that will prove quite synthetic in argument and composition. I see it as a culmination of my past twenty-five years of scholarship, and as a means to address some of the most troubling aspects of nation-building.

Michael Fellman is Director of Graduate Liberal Studies and Professor of History at SFU. His lecture was derived from the earlier stage of his next book project about terrorism and the American mainstream in the nineteenth century, tentatively entitled "Twisting the Cross".

*[**Ed. note:** The entire Filipino population was in fact already Christian, just not the *kind* of Christians McKinley had in mind.]